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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XVII.—NO. 2.

## REFUGE OF OPPRESSION

From the New-York Globe, a Democratic paper of the most flaming pretensions.

### NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

It is a sacred principle, universal and world-wide, that 'all men are born free and equal.' Admit the principles of the Abolitionists, now going on in Faneuil Hall, for the avowed purpose of raising a large sum of money to sustain lecturers in favor of a dissolution of the Union. Not only the Daily Whig, and the Lowell Courier, and the Norfolk American, but the Atlas, and even the old pro-slavery Daily Advertiser, are out with earnest commendations of the fair. Liberal is the encouragement afforded by the leading Whig influences in and around Boston, that it is confidently predicted by some, that a fund of four or five thousand dollars will arise out of this fair, to be employed in preaching disunion come-outism, and the kindred doctrines. The greater part of this money will come from persons who are neither disunionists nor come-outers, from persons who have greater regard to the Anti-slavery cause than is common to the people of Massachusetts—from men who voted for Henry Clay, who support Gov. Briggs, and who expect to vote for a slaveholder either for President or Vice President in 1848; from men who feel no responsibility for the success of abolition, and who would rejoice in their secret souls, if they could be assured that they should never even hear of it again so long as they live.

We put the question to the electors of this city and State, when and where the negro is free, shall he be entitled to the civil and political privileges of the white man? We hold that this is not the home or the country of the negro. He never has, and never can flourish here. The most man never can expand and attain those great and enlarged proportions, of which he may be capable. Africa is his home, designated by God and Nature. There is his appropriate and successful sphere, and there, if anywhere, is sent on a high mission, where the triumphs of truth, and civilization, and civil liberty and religion, may make the Washington, and the Jefferson, and the Jackson of Africa. The destiny of the negro should be regarded as higher than the imperial and the rousing conduct with the white man, in which he must be doomed to perpetuation and mortification, and irritation, and defeat; this is a war against God and Nature, when the negro or his deluded friend attempts to assert his right to perfect equality in this Republic. No man and no race, although they were higher than the angels, can fight against God and Nature—it is futile with irrevocable fate, with inexorable and unyielding principles.

If the negro is entitled to any, he is entitled to all the rights and privileges of a man and a freeman in this Republic. Nothing can be withheld and nothing denied—he is entitled to *all or none*. If he gets a part, and is denied the *residue*, it is still the veriest robbery and the direst cruelty. In the very nature of things, he can never get all, and this proves conclusively that he is entitled to none here in this land, because it is not his home—because he is, and ever must be, an alien and a stranger—because his master has assigned him a distinct race, that can never amalgamate with the white race. The universal denial to him of all—the full and entire all—of the rights of a freeman, by men of all parties and all classes—by the most fanatical abolitionists—proves that he cannot be a freeman, that his destiny is cast in another land, and among his own people. We fearlessly assert, that the whole white population, in denying to the negro the full measure of his rights as a freeman, Is this so? Is any one startled? We repeat, it is so. The unfeigned friend of the Negro labors to secure him, in this State, civil and political privileges. If he is entitled to this, his claim is clear and indisputable to all. He must have all, or he is not fit to be a member of the community, and the very rights that you secure to him add to the bitterness of his curse, and render him more exposed to the evils in it, by a denial of the residue. If you give a part, to deny the *residue* is wrong and unjust, and to secure to him but a part is cruelty itself. By uniting consent, social rights are, and are to be, denied to the negro. Has he any dearer and more valued rights? What are civil and political rights, save, without social privileges? Who would give a far for the former, without the latter? Who is a man without the latter?

It is vain to reply that the negro is free in this respect—that no severe law may rankler than any barrier upon his social rights. This is an idle fallacy. True, there is no law; but there are restraints stronger than law—there are mountain and ocean barriers stronger than any parchment or constitution, that bind him in the sphere of his social rights. This is the universal prejudice; the deep and abiding and stern aversion to social and domestic relations with the negro; these are the instincts of our nature, that emphatic indication of the truth, standing the uncomparable opponents of the social rights of the negro in a white community. Have you ever met the white man—a brother—a brother—no brother has his soul burned as an abolitionist, to whom you put the question, 'Are you willing that the negro should visit your family, marry your daughter, or pay court to your sister?' You have never met the man who would answer you in the affirmative. He could not do so, without violence to all the feelings of his nature—he might as easily be induced to bind his daughter or sister hand and foot, and cast her into a fiery furnace. But this point is a strong argument. Amalgamation can never be, unless the ineluctable fate of Nature itself be reversed, and if not, then all civil and political rights to the negro become a mere mockery, and the unwise and fearful battle against nature, he is placed in a still more exposed position, where his peace and his true interests are still more endangered.

Our friends will not allow us to pursue this interesting subject farther, at this time. We present the above reflections, in view of the important election which takes place to-morrow, for delegates to the State Convention, as calculated to lead the minds of our readers on in the train of argument which must flow from it, and to enjoin them to a full and united support of the Democratic ticket.

It is unkind and cruel to the negro—it places him in a false and unnatural position—it deforms his return to his land of promise, his own Africa; and it holds him back from the high destiny which may await him. It is a most deplorable policy to introduce a distinct race, to the equal rights of citizenship in a community with which they can never amalgamate or coalesce, and to which they must ever be antagonists in their secret feelings, and in which they must ever be in the minority, often from the nature of things oppressed and wronged, insulted and mortified. As no greater calamity can befall the negro, so no greater misfortune can befal the negro, so no greater misfortune can befal this community than the introduction of a body of citizens, unable to amalgamate, and from their very necessity, thrown into a hostile attitude. Could a body of citizens be created, who from time to time would become more the misers, tools of the despot, until they became a by-word and a reproach among all men? The real friend of the negro is seeking to prevent this calamity; he sees the true destiny of the negro, and he reads his true mission in the redemption of Africa, and in his final election among the republics of the world. We go for the largest liberty for all—for the true interests of all. *Negro suffrage will prove a CURSE, both to the white man and the negro.*

Such is the contrast in our aims and purposes. Can unprejudiced and intelligent men long hesitate, which to approve, and which to condemn? The American Anti-Slavery Society is, in fact, no less a political organization than the Liberty party. Its avowal of political purposes which can be accomplished, peacefully, only by political means, stamp it with a political character. The task which it proposes to accomplish is a far more difficult one than that which the Liberty party has in view. A hundred men can be more easily induced to array their influence against slavery than one to advocate a dissolution of the Union.



OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR

BOSTON, FRIDAY,

From the Emancipator.

THE WHIGS AND THE DISUNIONISTS.

All the whig papers in this region have exhibited a special interest in favor of the GRAND FAIR of the Disunionists, now going on in Faneuil Hall, for the avowed purpose of raising a large sum of money to sustain lecturers in favor of a dissolution of the Union. Not only the Daily Whig, and the Lowell Courier, and the Norfolk American, but the Atlas, and even the old pro-slavery Daily Advertiser,

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The true explanation of this display of whig infidelity is doubtless to be found in their fear of the growth of the Liberty party. The leaders are looking earnestly to the Presidential election in 1848. They know well that they cannot succeed, unless they can secure a good portion of the anti-slavery votes of the country. They know, too, by experience, that with the exception of a very small number of persons, who do not vote at all, the disunion movement has no tendency to draw any voters from the whig party; but, on the contrary, has often rendered them more exposed to the whig party. It is a capital thing to throw out such a tub to the whale. Previous little has the whig party to fear from abolition, if they could get it all engaged in preaching disunion.

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Of course, the end which the disunionists tell us they have in view, may be accomplished long before their means will be regarded with any other feeling than that of aversion. Their labors are, therefore, misdirected, their energies wasted, and worse than this, they are actually delaying the day of the Slave's deliverance by identifying, so far as their action can do it, the cause of emancipation with the purpose of disunion.

From the Pittsburgh Christian Advocate.

MODERN INFIDELITY, ALIAS COME-

OUTISM.

This is expressive of a class of persons, who come out from all organizations of Church and State, and are seeking their overthrow, either by infidelity or heresy. We find the American Anti-Slavery Society, of which Wm. Lloyd Garrison is President, is arrayed against the Government, the Church, and its institutions, seeking their overthrow, and nothing less. Of this class of persons, the Come-outs, some have been members of churches, others have been hostile to them, but whatever has been their difference heretofore, it is all harmony now. Pilate and Herod are joined together. They have become a brotherhood of disunionists, aiming at the destruction of the very foundations of civil and religious institutions.

The ostensible object for this reckless work is claimed to be the liberation of the slave. The cause of freedom is made their professed object, while their real one is the establishment of a reign of skepticism, by trampling law and religion under foot. The cloak of Anti-Slavery is worn; but under it is infidelity rejoicing with Beelzebub that the deception is so well played. The effort is made to make men believe that the slave can only be freed by the destruction of the church and government. If this is once believed, it will be made the leading object first to accomplish.

That the church and the government have faults, that you omitted, they follow it on your path. They are the voice of the infidel, who are endeavoring to silence the voice of the saint. They are the voice of the infidel, who are endeavoring to silence the voice of the saint.

A few words in conclusion, and I have done. My hearers, the present crisis is one of intense interest to the true follower of Christ. A new race of infidels has arisen, not profane, unchaste, immoral as were their predecessors, and as many of their contemporaries are; but EVINCING A REGARD FOR GOD, FOR TRUTH, FOR HUMANITY, FOR MORALS, and whose complaint is, that the church are arrayed against God, against truth, a *against humanity, against moral* *norms*. It is an evil era when INFIDELITY can boast of having the slave mint and evince the spirit of the infidel.

INFIDELITY is Infidelity that keeps the slave in bondage. When Christianity is believed and practised by a majority of the South, the slave will be free. It is the infidelity of the slaveocracy that perpetuates the system that ever saw the sun.

While the slaveocracy possesses this measure of infidelity, in practice at least, the Come-outers would thrust away the law that further restrains them, and dash in pieces the church, with all its institutions, leaving the poor slave at the mercy alone of the passions, and the revenge of his enemy, without the intercession of his friends.

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From the Pennsylvania Freeman.  
MR. GARRISON'S TEA-SET.

It is probable that all the anti-slavery readers in the country know that Mr. Garrison was complimented by the presentation of an elegant silver tea-service, on his recent visit to Edinburgh, from the zealous friends of the slave in that hyperborean city. The gift came from all sorts of people, or rather from one sort of people in all sorts of conditions, and reflected equal honor upon the givers and the gifted. However, it has proved figuratively, as well as literally, a 'Scotch gift' to Mr. Garrison; for the Collector of Boston, Marcus Morton, compelled him to pay a tax upon it of sixty dollars, before he would grant a permit for it to be taken from the ship. That this is a palpable violation of the spirit of the revenue laws, as it is in strict conformity with the letter, there can be no question; and Mr. Garrison might have put his tea-set into his travelling trunk, unless he travelled with one of those little yellow portmanteaus which, according to Boz, forms the entire luggage of every Yankee traveller, and taken it ashore among his personal effects, free of cost. If the value of the gift had been put in a pocket chronometer, or in books, or great coats, they could not have been taxed; and we do not believe, that the tea-service would have been charged with duty, if Mr. Garrison had not been 'Garrison.' The sixty dollars which he has, in this manner, been compelled to contribute towards paying the costs of the Mexican war, is quite as great a compliment to his integrity and zeal, as the presentation of the plate itself. But compliments of this kind are not so rare as to be coveted, and therefore he addressed a respectful and temperate letter to the Collector, representing the manner in which the tea-set came into his possession, and requesting a revision of the decision which had so unjustly compelled him to pay a sum of money, which was not justly due to the Government. We can easily conceive the jollity and exultation which Mr. Garrison's letter must have caused in the Treasury department, if the honest Collector of Boston sent it to Washington. Mr. Walker probably received it just after his first attempt to make a loan in Wall-street, and such a delicious morsel must have been better than a feeling of humanity for the individual victim to be ransomed has overcome the sense of the wrong thus done to the mass of the slaves. In this case of Douglass, we do not feel a shadow of doubt. Seven hundred and fifty dollars have been sacrificed to promote slavery—in plain recognition either of the right of the slaveholders, or the weakness, moral and physical, of the friends of liberty—of their inability to give security to those already free. More than one thousand persons are identified over fifteen thousand right hands, before we confess our sins. We feel mortified and full of shame that a man like Douglass should have cheapened himself to \$750 before the slaveholders. With thunder-tones he should have forbidden his friends to be used in their purpose. From that hour, however, the pro-slavery journals, in various parts of the country, began to open their batteries upon the little band of struggling abolitionists, and with such success that, for the next two years, mobocratic outbreaks to put down the anti-slavery agitation were continually occurring wherever the friends of emancipation attempted to hold their meetings in public.

It occurred to us, at that time, that, unless some method were adopted to put on record the wicked and monstrous allegations that were brought against the abolitionists, and also the profligate pleadings that were made to shield the slaveholders from condemnation, much historical information as to the spirit of the times, and the true state of public opinion, on the subject of slavery, would inevitably be lost; and hence, posterity would find it difficult to believe the strong affirmations of the unfaltering friends of the slave, in regard to the thoroughly pro-slavery character of Church and State, in the early struggle for the overthrow of the slave system. We therefore determined to fill a portion of the Liberator with the choicest specimens of pro-slavery sophistry, falsehood, malice, ruffianism and impiety, gathered from all quarters; and this we have regularly done for more than twelve years, in the department entitled 'REFUGES OF OPPRESSION'; so that we have voluntarily published many hundreds of columns, written in opposition to us and the cause we espouse, and generally without attempting to refute any of the atrocious sentiments advanced by our opponents, because we have relied for our triumphant vindication on the intelligence and candor of all good men, on the inherent goodness of our cause, on the soundness of our principles and measures, and in the unbiased judgment of an impartial posterity.

By the term 'REFUGES OF OPPRESSION,' we mean, of course, a retreat into which the enemies of freedom are gathered, in their distinctive character, and for an evil purpose; and we thus put the brand of condemnation on every article found in that department.

We neither assent to the logic nor like the spirit of these remarks of the editor of the Chronicle. In view of all the circumstances of the case, we are glad that Frederick Douglass is now legally free, and may return to the bosom of his family, without the terrible liability of being legally apprehended as a fugitive slave, and carried back to torture and chains.—ED. LIB.

THE ENGLISH CLERGY AND TEMPERANCE. Dr. Cox, writing from the Temperance Convention in London, states a painful and disgraceful fact. 'The clergy, the ministers of religion here, of all denominations, in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, are, as a rule, behind the age, druggers instead of leaders in the grand national reform. Those of them who love the cause, and lend their influence and their example to its furtherance, are the few and not the many, the exceptions and not the ordinaries—just as it is not in America. This is, I think, very bad and disgraceful, and heavy will be their account in the end, except they repent. They see the black rot of drunkenness raging among their flocks, and while they denounce it in the pulpit, occasionally and feebly, they sanction the process by their example, the very and the only process by which the mortal pestilence can either advance or exist at all. The dissenters, however, appear, more than the others, to favor the cause; but some men of eminence seem uneasy, and in a transition state respecting it.—Cleveland American.

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THE AMERICAN CLERGY AND EMANCIPATION. The clergy, the ministers of religion, here, of all denominations, in New-England, the South and the West, are, as a rule, behind the age, druggers instead of leaders in this grand national reform. Those of them who love the cause, and lend their influence and their example to its furtherance, are the few and not the many, the exceptions and not the ordinaries—just as it is not in America. This is, I think, very bad and disgraceful, and heavy will be their account in the end, except they repent. They see the black rot of drunkenness raging among their flocks, and while they denounce it in the pulpit, occasionally and feebly, they sanction the process by their example, the very and the only process by which the mortal pestilence can either advance or exist at all. The dissenters, however, appear, more than the others, to favor the cause; but some men of eminence seem uneasy, and in a transition state respecting it.—Cleveland American.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES. There seems to be a revival of anti-slavery feeling and action in this county. The heart of the Commonwealth begins to beat warmly in the cause of right and justice. Its pulsations are strong and vigorous, indicating that the people are awake to some of their degradation, and in quiet, submitting to the dominions of the slave power. It has done us good for the last two subethas to hear the earnest and eloquent pleading of Garrison and Phillips in behalf of the degraded and down-trodden slave, and their stern rebukes administered to those serving politicians who lend the weight of their influence and the powers of their intellect to flatter the prejudices of the people for popularity's sake. This is, I think, very bad and disgraceful, and heavy will be their account in the end, except they repent. They see the black spirit of Slavery prevailing among their flocks, and while they denounce it in the pulpit, occasionally and feebly, they sanction the process by their fellowship, the very and the only process by which the mortal pestilence can either advance or exist at all. The Doctors of Divinity, however, appear, more than the others, to favor the cause; but some men of eminence seem uneasy, and in a transition state respecting it.—Cleveland American.

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SOLD TO PAY HIS DEBTS.—We noticed, a short time since, the sudden disappearance from Charles-ton, S. C., of a certain alderman and Bank Director, on account of debt which he could not pay, and who was married to a mulatto woman, by whom he had six children. It turns out now, that this mulatto woman was his SLAVE! and, consequently, the six children are slaves also! The result is, the creditors of the absconding alderman have made arrangements to seize the wife and children, and sell them for his husband's and their father's debts. Think of that, ye pious and christian people; this republican and christian country, a man's wife and children—bone of his bone, and blood of his blood—are to be sold to pay his debts! Here is one of the legitimate fruits of slavery; it first encourages a man to libidinous habits with his slaves, and then, when misfortune overtakes him with a group of his own begotten slave children around him, he sees the remorseless creditor come and seize upon the issue of his loins, and the wife of his bosom, to sell them in the slumbers, like beasts. There will be a fearful account to settle, some day, for this horrible state of things, and every man who does not lift up his voice against it, will have some share in that accursed—Washington Patriot.

There is a fugitive slave named Norris Needham, a very worthy, likely young man, who fills the place of steward on board the steamboat Lexington, on Lake Erie. On a late trip up the lake, (says the Emancipator) advice was given at the mouth of Grand River, that a villain was probably on board, who intended to take Needham as soon as he reached Cleveland. As soon as the boat was fairly out upon the lake, the captain informed the passengers that he was going to have the boat searched; that if any rascally slaveholder was on board, he would throw him into the lake; and he would protect his steward as long as there was a button on his coat. The passengers fell in with the captain's feelings, and a general search was made. It is unnecessary to say, that under these circumstances, no slaveholder could be found—at least no one who would confess to that charge.

Mr. Octave Altzan, of Baton Rouge, had an alteration with a negro on the 1st inst. a few miles from the town, and the negro lifting his axe in a threatening manner, Mr. Altzan shot him dead.—N. O. Mercury, Dec. 10.

Southern Justice.—Flowers, Black and Smith, all convicted of negro stealing, were sentenced to be hung on Friday next.—Tallahassee Sentinel, Oct. 62.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

Mr. Garrison publishes in the last Liberator, a letter of his own, to Mr. Collector Morton, of Boston, asking him to remit the duty of \$600 on the service of plate, the gift of the ladies of Edinburgh, and which Mr. Garrison brought with him from England. It would certainly have been a very handsome thing in the Collector, and no more than just, to have permitted this service to pass duty-free, as it was not brought in to be sold, and was not even bought with American money. We are surprised, however, that Mr. Garrison should have expected it. The officials at the Boston, or any other American Custom-House, would be exceedingly conscientious in the discharge of their duty, when anything of Mr. Garrison's should come before them for appraisement, and the exaction of customs would be as agreeable to them in such a case, as if the money were to go lining their own pockets. 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SKETCH OF THE REMAINTS OF  
WENDELL PHILLIPS,  
At the Faneuil Hall Bazaar, December 29, 1846.  
(Reported for the Liberator.)

I have been requested to occupy a portion of the time allotted this evening to address you, and I do it with reluctance, as it seems to interrupt the bargainings which make so much more important an object in the purposes of the Fair. But, still, I suppose we must all bring to the altar, which is erected here, whatever offering we can, in order to further our general purpose; and as I have no other to bring but words, I must bring those.

I spoke, with some of this audience, last evening, to the addresses of our friends CLARK and CARRICK, and as to the remarks which I shall make upon this evening, though I shall not attempt to follow or criticize others, yet I most confess that I have led somewhat into the train of reflection which I shall follow, by the suggestions of those gentlemen. I could not fail to be struck with the utterances of one of them, with regard to some of our measures, which he deemed imperfect. I know not whether to sacrifice this to his too little attention to the general manner in which the cause is carried on, or to the great importance of the result aimed at, and the attack itself. I think that much of the criticism which is brought to bear upon the conduct of abolitionists, proceeds either from those who do not understand, or that conduct the frank, candid attention, which would entitle them to criticize, or who have not given sufficiently profound attention to slavery itself, out of which those measures grow. I say these friends have not fully considered the subject, and have not considered it sufficiently to be entitled to criticize.

Now, our cause has gone through all phases and all forms; and, like most other great reform movements, whether moral or physical, it had been suggested by some individual wrong. The evils against which these movements are directed may have existed for ages, but some individual case has occurred, and the eyes of the community have been fastened, for the first time, upon the fact. The sympathy of the community is awakened by an individual case, which calls forth a temporary excitement; and if that shall plant itself deep enough in the national heart, it becomes an enterprise, which, perhaps, respects no consequence. But those who first rally round the banner raised by individual sympathy, have rarely counted the cost. When the Revolution first broke out, the men who rushed at the first boom of the cannon, without bidding adieu to wives and children, thought probably that they should be back on the morrow. They had no idea of the long, vital struggle which had begun. It was not till long after the struggle had commenced, that the earnest thought of those who led the enterprise had fathomed the depth of the issue, that men

acted for the war.

Just such was the commencement of the anti-slavery movement. When first the Northern mind was galvanized by the incarceration of one man in a British dungeon, we little knew the deep strife which was commencing, which was to rock the very foundations of society. Our own leader, the man who gave his name to the enterprise, probably did not himself appreciate the mighty Revolution he was originating. He probably thought, when he went to the religious leaders of Boston, to ask their aid, that it was a temporary crusade, and the moment it had gained the public sympathy, it would be a rapidly successful movement. But, as he climbed Alp after Alp, he saw more distinctly the forces marshaled against him. I think that many now, who connect themselves with this cause, do not appreciate the fundamental change which we contemplate in the nation. We cannot expect to enlist for a shorter time than the war; that war may lay many of us in our graves, for we have attacked an evil which gathers up in its hands, all the chords of the national heart—which holds for its warships, politics, religion, ambition, pride of caste, love of money,—everything that can make it strong. Such is the evil we have attacked, and the past gives us no reason to be disengaged.

Our success has been unexpectedly great. Only look at it! Ever since the nation has started on its career, there has been slavery. From the first moment that it sent out that mocking Declaration of 1776, the oppressive monarchies of Europe might be addressed to it, "Art thou too become like us?" Through all our career of success, the slave has followed our car of triumph as it dashed the Capitol, as he did that of the old conquerors, and bade us remember that we too were oppressors. This blot has been with us from the commencement of our national existence, and, strange to say, for fifty years it attracted very little attention abroad, and very little solicitude at home. Mark the difference now. The American cannot take the wings of the morning, and fly to the uttermost parts of the earth, that he shall not find some finger there pointing him, with the exclamation, "Democratic Slaveholder!" No Andrew Stevenson, with the broad seal of the nation's indorsement in his hand, can with great swelling words attempt to pass himself off as an honest man, but straightway some impudent O'Connell shall take down his pride, by proving him, in the face of all Europe, the representative of a State, whose business it is to breed men and women for the market. No Cox or Paton can pass to the other side of the ocean, having stolen, for a while, "the fiery of heaven to serve the devil in," but some Douglass or Garrison shall be found upon the platform, to remind him of slavery. Be he layman or clergymen, or who he will, the ghosts of the Banquo mark every feast, and will not down at his bidding. We have awokened the nation; we have awokened the world.

We are justified in the strong, and even in the harshest language—in the strong and the violent measures which we propose, both in Church and State—by the fundamental character of the evil which we attack. Some men ask us to confine our opposition against slavery to political movements; some, to soft words—in a superficial manner to attack this evil—distrusting how deeply it is rooted in the American soil. It met all the young enthusiasm of the Revolution, and survived it. When, beneath that soil, the bones of 100 years of colonial imitation of feudal times, after trampling down the pride of Episcopacy with his noble state of religion, he came athwart the massive Bastille of the slave system rearing above the subsiding wave! When Thomas Jefferson went through the whole code of Virginia, destroying the right of primogeniture, rooting out the weeds of 100 years of colonial imitation of feudal times, after trampling down the pride of Episcopacy with his noble state of religion, he came athwart the massive Bastille of the slave system rearing above the subsiding wave!

The force of the Northern mind has been spent in subduing the earth, and accumulating wealth. But the moment it shall have filled its coffers, and become sick that pursuit, then you will find some of that sturdy old Puritan obstinacy grafted into politics; you will find that, if he attempted to cut it, he should lose his political influence; and be exiled from political power. And so Jefferson grew old with the same hope, but doing nothing, knowing how deeply the evil was rooted. He knew that there is something better than the dollar? And how shall we do it? It is the conviction of working-men, that has always carried a reform—not learning and wealth, they have never led in the field. I remember crossing the water in a vessel filled with Englishmen—the representatives of every class—the wealthy—the navy—the army—the higher classes—&c. &c.; and I was surprised to find that there was but a single man, (and he bore the hereditarily anti-slavery name of Chapman,) who was with me on the anti-slavery question. Every other one took ground against me. I asked myself, how comes it that, after W. I. Emancipation, there is not an Englishman here, who has the national pride to support this proud act of his own country? But when I reached Eng-

land, I found that it was the weight of the middle class, the serious, the thoughtful, the producing classes, that, over the head of Parliament, rather than through it, had forced emancipation upon the country; and so, probably, it must ever be.

"But why do you attack the church? Why, for your single object, do you endeavor to avert all the religious hopes of the country?" I will tell you why. Because we sincerely believe that, in that element, lies the only power to which we can appeal for strength deep-seated enough to grapple with slavery; and we regret that that element has been corrupted. We want it right. The Constitution has died in the embrace of slavery. We must have something upon which to rely, and we have nothing but the religious element—the deep, vital idea of duty. We must speak strongly, because the crisis demands plain talking. Remember this is no evil, which lynx-eyed ingenuity has discovered. We are not going about with a lamp at mid-day, in order to ferret out some little local evil. Every sixth man is a slave. The national banner clings to the flag staff, heavy with blood. This sin concerns the interests of the country; the purity of the religious, the integrity of the political character of our nation. The evil is tolerated, because the conscience of the nation has been put to sleep. We do therefore appeal, rebuke, bring our indictment against, the church, because we despair of success from every other quarter; because we know that, had she done her duty, it had not been possible that slavery should have existed so long. Why, then, do you not leave the church, to preach the gospel with its great principles? Because there has never yet been a victory accorded to Christianity, but by applying her principles. What use of a formal church, were it not that some body of men is needed to take from the armory of Revelation, those abstract principles, and to apply them to the sins of their own day. The church preached in the middle ages against slavery, and European slavery died out. "Here," says Coleridge, "I have nothing to do with wrecks. But, put me on the coast of England, where they smuggle, and plunder wrecks, and see then if I do not preach fifty-two Sundays in each year against smuggling, and robbing the shipwrecked." Is the pulpit to dwell forever in the graves of the Jews? Are we to dwell forever on the rebukes that the Saviour dealt upon the sins of his times—forgetting that the devil makes himself always popular and triumphant according to the fashion? The skepticism of Athens is not here—that skepticism which Paul attacked, when he stood on Mars Hill. He wrote for the times—directed his remarks against individual sins. What we ask of the successors of Paul is, that they too may take his thunderbolt, and aim it, not at the graves of the Pharisees, but at the palaces of the tyrant.

We are told—"Your movement is superfluous. Leave moral evils to the care of the church. The gospel is the panacea for all." So we believe. We believe that the Anti-Slavery Organization, and the Temperance Organization, and the Moral Reform Organization, are all superfluous in any community where the Christian Church fills up the measure of her duty, occupies the post assigned her, and carries out the great ideas which lie at the foundation. The church, says Dr. Arnold—the scholar, who brought the treasures of learning, and laid them so cheerfully upon the altar of Humanity—the divine, whose life of practical benevolence might redeem the study of Theology from the taunt of uselessness which it has so often richly deserved—the church, says Arnold, is an organization, "to put down all moral evil, either within her own body or out of it."

Gather men together, and the enthusiasm of multitudes will enable you to wield against vice a power, which will accomplish what individual strength could never do. The object of the church is not the same as the object of the cloister; this is personal purity and improvement—that is joint action and strength. The object of the church is to put down moral evil. Now let the church of our time deal with the slavery of our day, as she skilfully dealt with national sins, when she came across them. Let, in a word, each minister be an anti-slavery lecturer in his own person, as he ought to be. This is what I call preaching the gospel; and when the gospel is preached thus, there will be no necessity for an anti-slavery society left, because it will be swallowed up in a mighty enthusiasm than can be connected with a single idea. The church has had nothing to do with Temperance, Anti-Slavery, Peace! She has the sword of the Spirit, but she never uses it! She has put on the breastplate of righteousness, but never goes into battle! She is shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, but she never travels—her charity begins and ends at home! So was not the gospel preached once. The science of the philosophers, which reigned so long, never produced a gospel. But the gospel was preached, and, in a few centuries, Europe was studded with houses of refuge. Education might take the son of the peasant, and place him upon the throne. It is that gospel, that church, which we ask. That is our ideal; and we shall cease to rebuke her, when she will take the work out of our hands, and say, "See how much better we will do it for you!" Until that time, we shall be "harsh as Truth, uncompromising as Justice." Till then, we shall maintain that she is not true to her high purpose. We, therefore, if we are infidels, are infidel to that Christianity which permits sin to grow up unrebuted in its presence. If we judge the church, we judge by no standard of ours. We take her own fundamental principles, and require of her nothing but conduct consistent with the rules she lays down for others.

Our friend remarked, that we ought to be very cautious, because there were a great many good men in the church. Did you ever hear it denied on an anti-slavery platform? We do not address the lost and reckless. We show the church her short-comings, because we think there is virtue enough there to answer that appeal, and to make it what it should be. We ought not to criticize the parties, because there are a great many good men connected with them. Did you ever hear that denied upon the anti-slavery platform? If we thought that there was no health left in the church or the parties, we would go and bow to the despotism of Europe, and spurn the democracy which has produced so little virtue.

In a word, slavery is the strongest element in this nation. The strength of parties she laughs to scorn. The integrity of public leaders melts in the sunshine of her sorcery. Nothing is strong enough to do battle with her, but the religious element in the nature of man. It is that we evoke. Sad that those who aspire and pretend to represent and to lead this, have been so recreant to duty, we have rebuked them in words not half so deep and bitter as their conduct has been base, and the result of their treason disastrous.

Our infidelity consists in this—that we refuse to believe that a church which sinner ill and love, and which taints its creed to suit a nation of slaveholders,

can represent a religion which came to break every yoke, and which commands us, at every cost, to obey God rather than man.

**THE RAM'S HOOF.** This is the title of a new paper, commenced by Thomas Van Rensselaer, an enterprising colored citizen in New York, devoted to the abolition of slavery, and the elevation of the colored population of the United States. It is very neatly printed, and ought to obtain a living patronage in that city alone, containing a colored population of 20,000, to which number add 25,000 more in Philadelphia. Price \$1 a year.

"We have received a Sermon preached on the day of the annual Thanksgiving, Nov. 26, 1846, by the Pastor of the Central Congregational Church, Worcester. It is highly eulogistic of the New-England character, and bears a testimony against slavery and the Mexican war.

## THE LIBERATOR.

### DISSOLUTION IN 1797.

#### FRIEND GARRISON:

I have in my possession, a file of the "Eagle, or Dartmouth Centinel," printed and published by Benjamin True, in Hanover, N. H., for the years 1797 and 1798. In the numbers for Sept. 11th and 12th, 1797, are two articles, purporting to be taken from the Connecticut Courant, of August of the same year, from which I make the following extracts, which are at your service to publish, if you think best.

To the Printers of the Connecticut Courant.

#### GENTLEMEN:

In looking at the causes for the division of the Union, they are found to be various. An opposition to interests was strongly exemplified within the walls of Congress.

There was hardly a question of importance brought forward by Northern members, but which met with strenuous opposition from the Southern delegates, and vice versa. It was often the case, that those who contemplated the subject on a more enlarged scale than that which was generated by local interests and prejudices, were put to much difficulty in preventing the division in the House from coming to the knowledge of our countrymen. They felt that it was of the first importance to the cause of anti-slavery, that the slaves should be protected; that the over-weight of the three-fifths basis should aid them against the spirit of the North. It was a weak, decrepit system, that asked, like Morris, in Rob Roy, leave only to breathe; but no sooner was the bond sealed, no sooner was all brought to the altar, which is erected here, whatever offering we can, in order to further our general purpose; and as I have no other to bring but words, I must bring those.

I listened, with some of this audience, last evening, to the addresses of our friends CLARK and CARRICK, and as to the remarks which I shall make upon this evening, though I shall not attempt to follow or criticize others, yet I most confess that I have led somewhat into the train of reflection which I shall follow, by the suggestions of those gentlemen. I could not fail to be struck with the utterances of one of them, with regard to some of our measures, which he deemed imperfect. I know not whether to sacrifice this to his too little attention to the general manner in which the cause is carried on, or to the great importance of the result aimed at, and the attack itself. I think that much of the criticism which is brought to bear upon the conduct of abolitionists, proceeds either from those who do not understand, or that conduct the frank, candid attention, which would entitle them to criticize, or who have not given sufficiently profound attention to slavery itself, out of which those measures grow. I say these friends have not fully considered the subject, and have not considered it sufficiently to be entitled to criticize.

Now, our cause has gone through all phases and all forms; and, like most other great reform movements, whether moral or physical, it had been suggested by some individual wrong. The evils against which these movements are directed may have existed for ages, but some individual case has occurred, and the eyes of the community have been fastened, for the first time, upon the fact. The sympathy of the community is awakened by an individual case, which calls forth a temporary excitement; and if that shall plant itself deep enough in the national heart, it becomes an enterprise, which, perhaps, respects no consequence. But those who first rally round the banner raised by individual sympathy, have rarely counted the cost. When the Revolution first broke out, the men who rushed at the first boom of the cannon, without bidding adieu to wives and children, thought probably that they should be back on the morrow. They had no idea of the long, vital struggle which had begun. It was not till long after the struggle had commenced, that the earnest thought of those who led the enterprise had fathomed the depth of the issue, that men acted for the war.

The objection made to us is, that we have ventured to grow wise by the experience of our fathers; that we refuse to think that these compromises will ever amount to anything, slavery growing stronger every time, and we growing weaker. Hence, we have attempted to proclaim that slavery is too deeply rooted for these slight attempts to reach it; that the nation must be regenerated, that the forms of its existence must be changed. *Deinde est Carthago* is to be our motto. Slavery is to cease—and no matter what goes with it, be it the Constitution, or any pretended church, or whatever it is which stands in the way, Right must rule. We see no strength in expediency. The abolitionists are criticized for their constant rebuke of the religious sects in regard to the slave question. It is asked, "Why leave it a political matter? Trust to politics!" Look at the nation. What are we about? At war with a people who never injured us, and for what? To extend and secure slavery. And what do the parties say of the war? What has the leader of the Whig party said of the war? He says, "It is an Executive war; we are not responsible for this war—the President made it." The President made war? Who gave him the power? Does the Constitution give him the power? No. Congress is to make war. And the only excuse of Daniel Webster is, that somebody else made the war, which he ought to have made, if any body did it. I was astonished to see how this was received. Why, it is the first step to despotism. There is no marked spot where it can be said,—"There despotism begins." People seem to think that there will be no notice given—that that part which is due from the four Southern States. Not only so, but as the national faith is pledged for the punctual payment, it must, in that case, be paid by the Northern people—although they are creditors. In my next, I shall examine these objections in their order, and with a few observations shall close this paper.

The principal objections to a division of the United States are the following, viz:

If the United States were divided into two governments, it is said that they will become so weakened as to invite an invasion from abroad.

Second, that the funding system must be destroyed;

and as the debt is due to the Northern States, it is said that that part which is due from the four Southern States.

Third, that the slaves must be freed.

Fourth, that the slaves must be freed.

Fifth, that the slaves must be freed.

Sixth, that the slaves must be freed.

Seventh, that the slaves must be freed.

Eighth, that the slaves must be freed.

Ninth, that the slaves must be freed.

Tenth, that the slaves must be freed.

Eleventh, that the slaves must be freed.

Twelfth, that the slaves must be freed.

Thirteenth, that the slaves must be freed.

Fourteenth, that the slaves must be freed.

Fifteenth, that the slaves must be freed.

Sixteenth, that the slaves must be freed.

Seventeenth, that the slaves must be freed.

Eighteenth, that the slaves must be freed.

Nineteenth, that the slaves must be freed.

Twentieth, that the slaves must be freed.

Twenty-first, that the slaves must be freed.

Twenty-second, that the slaves must be freed.

Twenty-third, that the slaves must be freed.

Twenty-fourth, that the slaves must be freed.

Twenty-fifth, that the slaves must be freed.

Twenty-sixth, that the slaves must be freed.

Twenty-seventh, that the slaves must be freed.

Twenty-eighth, that the slaves must be freed.

Twenty-ninth, that the slaves must be freed.

Thirtieth, that the slaves must be freed.

Thirty-first, that the slaves must be freed.

Thirty-second, that the slaves must be freed.

Thirty-third, that the slaves must be freed.

Thirty-fourth, that the slaves must be freed.

Thirty-fifth, that the slaves must be freed.

Thirty-sixth, that the slaves must be freed.

Thirty-seventh, that the slaves must be freed.

Thirty-eighth, that the slaves must be freed.

Thirty-ninth, that the slaves must be freed.

Fortieth, that the slaves must be freed.

Forty-first, that the slaves must be freed.

Forty-second, that the slaves must be freed.

## POETRY.

The following is obviously in reference to the pro-slavery, rum-distilling, wine-bibbing Hollis-street church, and the Thanksgiving anti-reform sermon of its hiring pastor, Rev. Mr. Fosdick.

For the Liberator.

**PARLOR TALK.**  
Father, you know how pleased you were  
On last Thanksgiving day;  
You said the sermon was so good,  
For printing it would pay.

And well you know our pastor dear,  
(So unlike other men);  
On Sabbath-day repeated it,  
And how it pleased us then!

And when in print it did appear,

How fast the copies sold;

For all the truths he uttered, were  
Run in the good old mould.

But just look here—the Christian World'

Our Sermon has review'd;

I'll read it you, papa, and see

The course it has pursued.

It calls it an "Apology"

For Slavery and Rum;"

I'm sure I hope'd we should no more

Before the public come.

Why is it, papa, our good old church  
Should always be best?

The man who made past trouble's gone,

And we are troubled yet.

Papa, if 'tis your liquor trade,

That keeps us in a broul,

Or it is in Slavery's cause

We do not tug and toil,

Let's try new-fangled principles;

And see what they will do;

For scarcely anything is wrote,

But some one points to you.

Do hold your peace, my silly child,

And view things as they be;

What harm can criticism do,

Coming from J. F. C?

But look, papa, another man

Has written up it too;

I sometimes think, I must confess,

What many say is true.

Rum, War, and Slavery and Wealth,

No public favor wins;

But then I know we hire no man

To preach on special sins.

We used to hear enough of those,

To keep our conscience clean;

And still so quiet now we find—

Father, what does it mean?

My daughter, reach that paper here;

Upon it I insist;

I'll quickly tell the editor

To drop me from his list.

He need not think apologies

Will for his course alone;

Our church can never quiet be,

Till we are let alone.

We chose a man just to our mind,

To face each coming storm;

And we as one adhere to him,

Who lets alone Reform.

From the Boston Courier.

**THE VOLUNTEER'S SONG.**

Go, go, go,

Sprinkling death and woe,

Hear the cannon's mighty noise,

Flash the powder that destroys,

Shoulder up your guns, my boys,—

Conquer Mexico.

Go, go, go,

Mr. Folk says so;

Cross the river, stem the flood,

Bear the rain and sleep on mud,

Stab their hearts and drink their blood:

Conquer Mexico.

Go, go, go,

Leave our Northern snow;

Go, where fears lead the air,

Where the sky, however fair,

Leads the body with despair,—

Conquer Mexico.

Go, go, go,

Reason answers, No!

Never mind her; Glory's voice

Swells and makes a louder noise—

Hear her orders, O my boys,

Conquer Mexico.

Go, go, go,

Mr. Folk, you know,

Bids you fight and kill and quell,

Cut their throats and make them yell,

Tread their spirits down to Hell—

Conquer Mexico.

Go, go, go,

To the nation show

We are freemen by our birth;

Free for madness or for mirth;

Free to conquer all the earth—

After Mexico.

From the Taunton Democrat.

**THE WORDS OF STRENGTH.**

There are three lessons I would write—

Three words—as with a burning pen,

In tracings of eternal light,

Upon the hearts of men.

Have Hope. Though clouds environ now,

And gladness bids her face in scorn,

Put then the shadow from thy brow—

No night but bath its morn.

Have Faith. Where'er thy bark is driven—

The calm's import, the tempest's mirth—

Know this—God rules the hosts of Heaven,

The habitants of earth.

Have Love. Not love alone for one;—

But man, as man, thy brother call,

And scatter, like the circling sun,

Thy charities on all.

Thus grave these lessons on thy soul—

Hope, Faith and Love—and thou shalt find

Strength, when Life's surges roardest roll;

Light, when thou elsewert blind.

From the Taunton Democrat.

**THE WILL OF GOD.**

Thy will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven.'

Oh, beautiful and bright world must be,

Where life is but the doing of God's will;

Could we on earth as perfectly fulfil

Thy holy law, we also, should be free!

For angels are not happier than are we,

When in our hearts we take our Father's name,

And with a resolute and steady aim,

Make all our deeds with His high will agree.

Father! we love our land of human birth,

Which Thou to us for a brief home had given;

We love this beautiful and fair young earth,

And fain would make it like our home in HEAVEN.

That here, as in yon Heaven—THY WOLF WILL BE

DOKE!

8 C. E.

## REFORMATORY.

**THE PRIESTHOOD—THE CHURCH—AND THE PEOPLE.**

London, November, 1846.

To the Editor of the Liberator.

DEAR SIR.—Your visit to us will remind you of one of the great checks to our onward progress, and to our ability to aid progress elsewhere,—the weight we have to carry in what is here called the Established Church—that is, the Church called the Church of England, which, being established by act of Parliament, is called by many the Law Church, to distinguish it so far from the Church of Christ.

With us, the supporters of the Law Church are the lords and the land-owners; the farmers dependant on the owners of the soil, and clodpoles dependant upon them—if supporters these two last can be called.

It should always be borne in mind, that at least one half of those who pass for churchmen, in Old England, and who must be admitted to possess greater intelligence than the farmers and their laborers, are not supporters, as far as inclination goes, but merely conformers from position, place, or connection.

Another large portion is comprised of those, who, being indifferent as to faith, study appearance, and therefore join those who are generally considered the most.

The lords—I purpose avoiding calling them the nobility, for the descendants of the old nobility have been swamped by the creation of George the Third, so far as mere antiquity is a constituent of nobility—the mass of the titled men of this country, are but of yesterday. The lords are supporters of the Church, because they are most of them sine-holders and patrons of livings, and were selected for lords because of their thick-and-thin advocacy and support of Tory wars against American and French independence. They are supporters of the Law Church, because that church furnishes provision for their younger children, and other connections. The church is their warren; it is an aristocratic preserve, by upholding which, a tenth of the produce is drawn from the industries, for the support of lordlings and other offshoots, and those accommodating chaplains and tutors, who, by pliancy and prudent marriages, qualify themselves to teach humility to those whom, but not by whom they are appointed to preside as religious teachers, and to whom, nominated by the lords and the Lord Chancellor, (always a churchman,) they have generally been appointed as magistrates, to expound the penalties of the game and other oppressive laws, in connection with the terrors of their creed. Of these classes,—that is, the lords, the squirearchy, and the farmers, in districts where commerce and newspapers have not yet brought the intellects of the last into action,—the former are the principal supporters of this holy daughter of a mother, whom they have been themselves the loudest in calling by a name which their courts visit with the penance in a white sheet.

As to the laborers, they poor things, are the mere slaves of the soil. They are not, like your black slaves, bought and sold by name, but are often effect bought and sold with the lands. They live upon potatoes chiefly, and a coarse bread than others; they live in their masters' cottages, from whence they are ejected, if discharged as laborers; and, if let into their masters' stomachs, it immediately taints and pollutes them. And it occasionally assaults with considerate energy, when there is a pretty fair prospect of an easy victory in public estimation, some of what are called the little cinders of iniquity,—such, for example, as parties of pleasure, dancing schools, the merrymaking of professors with non-professors, and of a man with his deceased wife's sister. But let its eye only be turned to one of the strong holds of Satan, and it immediately trembles, and cowers, and dares not bend a bow, or shoot an arrow against it. In a word, it 'strains at a gnat, and swallows a camel.' The Saviour neither winked at, nor spared a delicious repast? And, if your own doctrine is that, ye not ye the hunting hounds of hell? Are ye not sending your fellow men by scores and hundreds into the burning lake? O, ye Rev. Divines, who render thanks to God for the success of American arms, how must his Satanic Majesty rejoice over such faithful servants as you! What shouts of triumph must ring through his regions, when you are heard praying for the success of American arms, and offering thanks for victories obtained!

We take the following extract from a Sermon, rare for its moral courage and plain speaking, delivered at North Bridgton, (Me.) at the annual meeting of Union Conference, by J. P. Fessenden—

The religion of the Gospel is opposed, without connivance or compromise, to all sin—especially to sin of a flagrant character and of long standing, having the sanction of human authority and law, and having obtained a wide-spread popularity and currency among men. Not so with the prevailing religion of our day. It is a religion of expediency, and, generally, has a bright outlook for the lower classes, and, in a condition of comparative trifling moment, it is unyielding, and exhibits a bold front, when its creeds and denominational peculiarities are assailed, and there is danger of its being overthrown.

The editor here gives the details of some of the horrid atrocities committed by the American soldiers upon the helpless Mexican women and children, and then adds—

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These, ye war-supporting religionists, is not that a delicious repast? And, if your own doctrine is that, ye not ye the hunting hounds of hell? Are ye not sending your fellow men by scores and hundreds into the burning lake? O, ye Rev. Divines, who render thanks to God for the success of American arms, how must his Satanic Majesty rejoice over such faithful servants as you! What shouts of triumph must ring through his regions, when you are heard praying for the success of American arms, and offering thanks for victories obtained!

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